

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2895

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AMEMBASSY LONDON

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 4649

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: PARTICIPATION OF WESTERN EUROPEANS IN PHASE II

FROM US REP MBFR

REF: (A) USNATO 2318; (B) USNATO 2771; (C) USNATO 2740;
(D) VIENNA 1509

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: THIS MESSAGE MAKES SUGGESTIONS
CONCERNING TREATMENT OF SECTION IV OF GUIDANCE TO
AD HOC GROUP ON LINKAGE REGARDING A COMMITMENT TO
EAST THAT OTHER WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD
PARTICIPATE IN PHASE II REDUCTIONS. WE BELIEVE NATO
DECISION ON THIS ISSUE MAY BE FACILITATED IF THE
COMPONENT ELEMENTS OF THE PROBLEM ARE IDENTIFIED
AND TREATED SEPARATELY: (A) WHAT ALLIES MIGHT SAY TO
THE SOVIETS IN THE NEAR FUTURE TO HELP BRING THEM TO
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ACCEPT IN PRINCIPLE WESTERN CONCEPT OF PHASING; (B) ISSUE

OF US PARTICIPATION IN PHASE II; (C) ISSUE OF SOVIET PARTICIPATION IN PHASE II; (D) FORM AND LANGUAGE OF ACTUAL COMMITMENT, INCLUDING QUESTION OF WHETHER COMMITMENT TO REDUCE IN PHASE II WOULD WEAKEN ALLIED CASE AGAINST NATIONAL SUB-CEILINGS. END SUMMARY.

2. DISCUSSION OF SECTION IV AT BRUSSELS THUS FAR, INCLUDING MAY 21 SPC DISCUSSION AND WILLOT REMARKS REPORTED REF (C), AS WELL AS DISCUSSIONS OF THIS TOPIC IN VIENNA, INDICATE THAT UNLESS CLEAR DISTINCTION IS MADE BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL ASPECTS OF ASSURANCE THAT WESTERN EUROPEANS WILL PARTICIPATE IN PHASE II, NATO MAY HAVE DIFFICULTY IN REACHING AGREED POSITION PROMPTLY.

3. IMMEDIATE OPERATIONAL NEED OF ALLIES IN VIENNA IS FOR AGREED LANGUAGE WHICH COULD INDICATE TO THE SOVIETS THAT THE WESTERN EUROPEANS, PARTICULARLY FRG, WILL PARTICIPATE IN PHASE II REDUCTIONS, THUS ANSWERING QUESTION REPEATEDLY RAISED BY EAST WITH REGARD TO PHASING IN COURSE OF VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS THUS FAR. THE US FORMULA CONTAINED IN THE PRESENT TEXT OF SECTION IV IS WELL SUITED FOR THIS PURPOSE. WHAT IS REQUIRED TO ENABLE ITS USE IN VIENNA IS ALLIED UNDERSTANDING OF ITS TACTICAL PURPOSE AND DECISION OF PRINCIPLE BY EACH OF THE NATO GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED THAT THEY WOULD BE WILLING TO PARTICIPATE IN PHASE II REDUCTIONS UNDER THE SPECIFIED CONDITIONS EVEN IF THAT PARTICIPATION WAS BY A VERY SMALL AMOUNT.

4. SECOND ISSUE IS ALLIED DESIRE TO ASSURE SOVIET PARTICIPATION IN PHASE II REDUCTIONS AND THE DESIRE OF SOME ALLIES TO UTILIZE STATEMENT OF WESTERN INTENT FOR THAT PURPOSE. WHILE THIS PROBLEM WILL HAVE TO BE TACKLED BEFORE FINAL AGREEMENT IS REACHED ON PHASE I AND BEFORE ANY SPECIFIC FORMULATIONS ON THE GENERAL SUBJECT OF PARTICIPATION IN PHASE II CAN BE AGREED, WE BELIEVE IT IS PREMATURE TO RAISE WITH THE EAST AT THIS POINT THE ISSUE OF SOVIET PARTICIPATION IN PHASE II. THE IMMEDIATE ALLIED OBJECTIVE IS TO BRING THE SOVIETS TO ACCEPT THE WESTERN CONCEPT OF PHASING. TO MENTION NOW THE REQUIREMENT OF FURTHER SOVIET REDUCTIONS IN PHASE II WILL MAKE IT HARDER RATHER THAN HELP GAIN

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SOVIET ACCEPTANCE.

5. TO BRING SOVIETS TO ACCEPT THE IDEA OF FURTHER SOVIET REDUCTIONS IN PHASE II, IT WILL BE NECESSARY IN OUR VIEW TO INFORM THEM THAT THE US WILL PARTICIPATE IN PHASE II, TO INDICATE TO THEM THAT THERE WILL BE LIMITS ON THEIR OWN PHASE II REDUCTIONS, AND TO MAKE THE WHOLE CONCEPT OF THE COMMON CEILING MORE ACCEPTABLE TO THEM IN WAYS WHICH WE HAVE

ALREADY PROPOSED TO WASHINGTON. SUCCESSFUL ACTION TO THIS END MUST AWAIT ALLIED DECISION ON ISSUES NOT YET DECIDED BY USG AND WHICH HAVE NOT YET BEEN RAISED IN NATO. PREMATURE TREATMENT OF TOPIC OF SOVIET PARTICIPATION IN PHASE II BEFORE ALLIED POSITION ON COMMON CEILING IS COMPLETELY DEVELOPED WOULD RISK SOVIET REBUFF, PREJUDICING CHANCES OF SUBSEQUENT FAVORABLE OUTCOME. BEST COURSE SEEMS TO US TO BE TO APPROACH THIS QUESTION IN TWO PHASES, FIRST, BY INDICATING WESTERN EUROPEAN READINESS TO PARTICIPATE IN PHASE II IN THE WAY DESCRIBED ABOVE, AND SECOND, TO TACKLE THE ISSUE OF SOVIET PARTICIPATION IN PHASE II AT A LATER POINT.

6. SOME ALLIES MAY OBJECT TO THIS COURSE ON GROUNDS THAT ALLIED LEVERAGE ON SOVIETS TO PARTICIPATE IN PHASE II IS AT ITS MAXIMUM NOW, BEFORE MENTIONING AN "ALL" COMMITMENT TO EAST, AND THAT ALLIES MAY HAVE HARD TIME GAINING SOVIET AGREEMENT TO PARTICIPATE IN PHASE II LATER ON IF THIS LEVERAGE IS NOT APPLIED NOW. SOME ALLIES MAY ARGUE IN CONNECTION WITH LATTER POINT THAT IF ALLIES DO NOT RAISE ISSUE OF SOVIET PARTICIPATION IN PHASE II DURING FIRST DISCUSSION OF WESTERN PARTICIPATION IN PHASE II, BUT DO SO ONLY LATER ON THIS COULD NOT ONLY REDUCE WESTERN LEVERAGE BUT GIVE RISE TO SOVIET COMPLAINTS OF BAD FAITH ON PART OF WEST. ON LATTER POINT, AS DISCUSSION IN FEBRUARY 27 INFORMAL SESSION (VIENNA 1804 PARAS 29 AND 32) INDICATES, EAST IS ALREADY AWARE OF THIS ISSUE, SO ACCUSATION COULD NOT BE MADE TO STICK. AS REGARDS LEVERAGE EFFECT, WEST WOULD ALREADY MAKE ITS FIRST STATEMENT OF WILLINGNESS TO GIVE ASSURANCES ON PARTICIPATION OF OTHER WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN PHASE II DEPENDENT ON EASTERN AGREEMENT TO SATISFACTORY PHASE I INCLUDING COMMON CEILING CONCEPT. IF STILL FURTHER CONDITIONS ARE ATTACHED TO THIS PROPOSAL FROM OUTSET, ITS EFFECTIVENESS FOR PURPOSE OF OBTAINING PRELIMINARY SOVIET AGREEMENT TO PHASING WILL
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BE WEAKENED.

7. FOR INTERNAL NATO PURPOSES, USNATO MIGHT BE AUTHORIZED TO STATE THAT IT IS PROBABLE THAT US WOULD WISH TO PARTICIPATE IN PHASE II AND MAKE POINT THAT THIS WILLINGNESS WILL PROVIDE SOME LEVERAGE FOR USE WITH SOVIETS AT LATER POINT WHEN ISSUE OF PARTICIPATION IN PHASE II IS DISCUSSED WITH EAST IN FULL. IN VIEW OF BELGIAN CONCERNS EXPRESSED BY WILLOT IN REF (C), IF FEASIBLE, IT MIGHT BE WORTHWHILE FOR USNATO TO SEEK TO TRADE OFF POSSIBILITY OF SOME INTERNAL NATO MENTION OF THIS POINT FOR REVISION OF BELGIAN POSITIONHUMES

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 VIENNA 4649

FROM US REP MBFR

ON WITHDRAWAL CLAUSE ON LINES OF VIENNA 4473.

8. AS REGARDS WORDING OF ASSURANCE, ALLIED DIRECT PARTICIPANTS ARE NATURALLY ANXIOUS TO AVOID ASSUMING A COMMITMENT IN THE FORM OF ASSURANCE TO PARTICIPATE IN PHASE II OF SUCH A NATURE THAT IT COULD WEAKEN THEIR CASE AGAINST NATIONAL SUB-CEILINGS DURING THE PHASE II NEGOTIATIONS THEMSELVES. MUCH WOULD DEPEND ON THE ACTUAL FORMULATION OF ALLIED COMMITMENT, WHICH WOULD PRESUMABLY BE UNDERTAKEN AT A LATER STAGE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, ONLY AFTER THERE HAD BEEN AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE NOT ONLY ON PHASING BUT ON THE CONTENT OF PHASE I REDUCTIONS AND ON THE COMMON CEILING. IN ANY EVENT, WE BELIEVE THAT IF ALLIES COMMIT THEMSELVES IN CONNECTION WITH PHASE I TO REDUCE TO REACH THE COMMON CEILING IN PHASE II, THEY CAN

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LATER SUCCESSFULLY ARGUE THAT THIS WAS THEIR SOLE COMMITMENT AND THAT ONCE HAVING AGREED IN PHASE II TO REDUCE TO REACH A GLOBAL COMMON CEILING AND TO MAINTAIN IT, THEY HAD FULFILLED THEIR PHASE I COMMITMENT, WHICH WOULD HAVE BEEN EXTINGUISHED AND REPLACED BY A DIFFERENT PHASE II COMMITMENT. ONCE REDUCTIONS TO THE COMMON CEILING WERE MADE, THE ONLY CONTINUING OBLIGATION WOULD BE TO ENSURE THAT THE TOTAL ALLIED MANPOWER DID NOT EXCEED THE CEILING. THEREAFTER, ANY ALLY WOULD BE FREE TO INCREASE ITS FORCES TO MAKE UP FOR POSSIBLE REDUCTIONS IN THE FORCES OF ANOTHER ALLY. ALLIES COULD THUS MAINTAIN THAT THEY HAVE UNDERTAKEN NO OBLIGATION FOR THE FUTURE TO MAINTAIN EACH OF THEIR NATIONAL FORCES AT THE LEVEL TO WHICH THEY WERE REDUCED AT THE TIME WHEN THE PHASE II AGREEMENT WENT INTO EFFECT.

9. AS REGARDS THE FORM OF SUCH ASSURANCE, WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT, WHEN THE TIME FOR ACTUAL FORMULATION COMES, THE EAST WILL INSIST THAT IT BE ONE OF THE PROVISIONS OF AN AGREEMENT. IT SHOULD BE KEPT IN MIND THAT THE ALLIED OBJECTIVE AT THAT POINT WILL BE TO OBTAIN A PARALLEL STATEMENT FROM THE EAST WHICH WILL PROVIDE FOR SOVIET AS WELL AS EASTERN EUROPEAN PARTICIPATION IN PHASE II REDUCTIONS, AND FORMULATIONS WILL HAVE TO BE RECIPROCAL. WE DO NOT BELIEVE THE EAST WILL ACCEPT A COLLECTIVE COMMITMENT BY THE NATO ALLIANCE AS SUCH, ALTHOUGH JOINT STATEMENTS BY THE GROUP OF WESTERN PARTICIPANTS AND THE GROUP OF EASTERN PARTICIPANTS MIGHT BE POSSIBLE. WE HAVE NO OPPOSITION AS A STARTING POSITION WHEN THE TIME COMES TO MAKING AN ATTEMPT TO SEE WHETHER THE SOVIETS WOULD ACCEPT A JOINT DECLARATION BY THE NATO ALLIANCE OUTSIDE THE TEXT OF AN AGREEMENT BUT WOULD NOT WISH TO BE BOUND BY LANGUAGE OF GUIDANCE TO THIS AS SOLE POSSIBILITY.

10. IT WILL BE EVIDENT THAT THE ITALIAN SUGGESTION IN PARA 4 OF USNATO 2813 TO ELIMINATE THE "ALL" FROM THE PHRASE REFERRING TO THE REDUCTIONS BY NON-US DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD MAKE THE PROPOSED ALLIED STATEMENT USELESS AS REGARDS IMPACT ON EAST. A VARIANT OF THE
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PROPOSAL MADE BY WILLOT, OMITTING HIS AMBIGUOUS REFERENCE TO "AT LEAST," WORDED AS FOLLOWS "ALL NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS HAVING SIZEABLE GROUND FORCES IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS" MIGHT MEET THE LUXEMBOURG PROBLEM. BUT, UNLESS CANADA ALSO DECIDES NOT TO

REDUCE, WE WOULD PREFER EITHER PERSUADING LUXEMBOURG TO MAKE A MINIMUM REDUCTION OR MENTIONING IT SPECIFICALLY IN THE ALLIED STATEMENT AS AN EXCEPTION. SOVIETS HAVE ALREADY TOLD US THEY WOULD NOT INSIST ON REDUCTIONS BY LUXEMBOURG. OTHER ELEMENTS IN THE WILLOT DRAFT HAVING TO DO WITH THE FORM OF THE ASSURANCE ARE PREMATURE FOR PRESENTATION TO THE EAST AT THIS POINT AND WOULD IN FACT DECREASE ITS EFFECTIVENESS BY RAISING THE ISSUE OF A COLLECTIVE DECLARATION BY THE ALLIEANCE.

11. IN ANY EVENT, MAXIMUM FLEXIBILITY FOR THE AD HOC GROUP SHOULD BE WRITTEN INTO THE GUIDANCE. ALTHOUGH IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE TO COMPLETE ALLIANCE WORK ON SECTION IV AT THIS TIME, WE SUGGEST THAT, IF SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES OVER THIS TOPIC DEVELOP IN NATO, IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO OBTAIN ALLIANCE AGREEMENT TO MAKE A GENERAL STATEMENT ON THE LINES OF THE US FORMULATION WHILE WORK ON REMAINING ASPECTS OF THE SUBJECT CONTINUES IN NATO.HUMES

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